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considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound; and that a Union of the States containing such an ingredient would provide for its own destruction.

The unresisting acceptance by the nations of more than 240 awards of international arbitral tribunals in the entire absence of any military power by which to enforce them; the rich experience of the United States with a government resting upon individuals instead of upon States, and the present attempt to secure the conviction and punishment of those individuals responsible for the recent war are all significant of the logic and justice of restraining or punishing delinquent individuals and of avoiding attempt to constrain or punish whole States comprising the innocent and the guilty alike.

VII. The Monroe Doctrine

The great and constantly growing problem of the Monroe Doctrine should have been settled by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Under the cloak of its name and prestige, imperialism has grown apace in the United States during the past score of years. While we have warned off the Old World powers against acquiring by any means the territory of our Latin American neighbors, we have ourselves taken over the Panama Canal Zone, Porto Rico, the Virgin Isles, Hawaii, Samoa, Guam, and the Philippines, and there is an insistent demand that we should take over the other half of Mexico which we did not take at the close of the Mexican War of 1848. While we have warned off the Old World powers against any intervention in the political affairs of our sister republics, we have ourselves made protectorates of Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

So great had the evil consequences of our imperialism in the New World become under the shadow of the Monroe Doctrine that President Wilson yielded to the demand that we should give security against our power and pass a self-denying ordinance against ourselves. In his address to the United States Senate, January 22, 1917, he said: "I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."

In accord with this proposition, the Covenant as first adopted at Paris included, in Article 10, the following pledge: "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." But when the super-patriotic and ultranationalistic Senators at Washington heard of this self-denying ordinance they insisted upon an exemption of the United States from the mutual pledge, and the President yielded to their clamor or to the advice of his own party advisers and inserted in the final draft of the Covenant Article 21, which reads as follows: "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."

Thus, the Covenant leaves the door wide open for the creation within the League itself of "regional understandings," or partial alliances, concerts, ententes, and the like, all of which have been formed, of course, "for securing the maintenance of peace"; and it lays no restraining hand upon the economic exploitation and political imperialism which may be anticipated in Mexico and in Central and Northern and South America, under the name of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States, or in Shantung, Manchuria, Siberia, and the Mongolian provinces of China, under the name of the Monroe Doctrine of Japan.

This defect in the Covenant must also be remedied, this prolific cause of tyranny and war within the League be removed. The Constitution of the United States did not evade the great issue of territorial integrity and political self-determination, but embodied in Article IV, section 4, this warning to predatory States within the Union as well as

outside: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion." There is no danger now that Massachusetts may conquer Rhode Island, or that Texas may dictate the government of Oklahoma. There should be as little danger that the United States may conquer Mexico, or that Great Britain may strangle the self-government of Persia.

A BASIS OF REUNION AND RENEWED EFFORT

By CHARLES H. LEVERMORE

Secretary of the New York Peace Society

Prior to 1914 we were working with some unity of mind and purpose to promote international peace. Our faces are still turned toward the same ideal, but the lessons of the war have greatly enriched and expanded our conception of what peace among nations must mean. The simple word "peace" no longer accurately describes the ideal. In place of that term we all now look for some expression of the idea of the interdependence of nations in the cause of righteousness. Various phrases are employed, as "League of Nations," "Society of Nations," "International Co-operation for the Supremacy of Law," "League to Enforce Peace," "League of Free Nations Association," "World Alliance for International Friendship." In all these cases the underlying purpose is identical with the aim of those groups that still retain the ancient name of "Peace Society." That purpose is to unify the power of public opinion in enlightened nations in order, as the British League of Nations Union states it, "to secure international justice, mutual defense, and permanent peace," or, in the words of the American League of Nations Union, "to promote international justice, friendship, and co-operation for the common welfare."

It is now too late to cavil and dispute among ourselves about the fact of international interdependence. We have been for two years and are now inevitably living under the supervision and protection of a league of nations. It sprang into being at the call of necessity, in order to win the war, and for an indefinite period in the future it must still be struggling to win it. Upon the usefulness and efficiency of any specific formula for co-operation, like that contained in the Paris Covenant, there is likely to be much divergence of opinion until actual experience either confirms or confounds the objections. Nevertheless, we can all unite to support the principles of getting together and keeping together, of substituting law-right for fist-right, and of preferring international control and the common welfare to the clash of separate and selfish interests.

Upon such a platform can there not now be gathered a single, strong, forward-looking society of internationally-minded people, in which the present groups and fragments can be merged? There is need of active, intelligent propaganda to crystallize public opinion, and to nourish the germs of healthy life that are in the League of Nations. Such a campaign is preferably conducted by one organization rather than by a dozen. Such a society derives its vigor and cohesive power from its various activities. The enthusiasm of its members in individual effort should be a constant factor. Conventions and public meetings with an itinerant staff of speakers are an expensive form of propaganda, effective, as the League to Enforce Peace has shown, when a crisis demands a speedy, nation-wide campaign, but impossible to sustain as a continuous effort after the crisis has passed. Publicity through syndicated material supplied to newspapers and magazines is most helpful when it can take advantage of current news values; but, however serviceable each of these forms of work may be, the greatest need of the movement, first and last, is its representative periodical—monthly, weekly, or daily—a forum for the authoritative exposition of international relations and a permanent educational influence. The membership dues of the society should be sufficient to include an adequate subscription for the maintenance of the publication, which should become, as the organ of the society, a great international review. With skillful management it should rally to its support consentaneous in-

fluences, groups and organizations at home and abroad. Competent observers and eminent publicists would become its correspondents from every world capital.

What the National Geographic Society has already achieved in its own field, an international union ought to be able to accomplish also. Such a representative publication for the family of nations has often been suggested, and plans were discussed before the war by leaders of the old peace movement; but the discussion ended in inaction, and until this day the student and the general reader cannot find on either side of the water a first-class periodical representing the whole circle of international issues and duties. On the other hand, there is a legion of publications, small and large, which partially cover small sectors of the field and show by inference what might be done.

The great English monthly reviews are among the best available for such information, but they all deal primarily with the issues affecting exclusively English interests and English culture. The crop of periodicals which have sprouted up among the numerous racial committees and propaganda bureaus have some value, but they are, of course, narrowly partisan.

Among the peace societies in this country the only considerable publication is the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, which might easily be made a nucleus for the great enlargement here suggested, but which does not at present command the financial power to compass such a growth.

Among kindred associations the only publication whose good-will would be of value in this project is the *World Court*, now known as the *League of Nations Magazine*. This periodical, now struggling with financial difficulties, has emphasized the idea of international justice and has reached a student constituency. The organization behind this magazine includes an international council of which Dr. Butler is president, the members of which have rendered some assistance as correspondents.

Clark University maintains a monthly magazine, under the editorship of Prof. George H. Blakeslee, and with the title, recently adopted, of *Journal of International Relations*. This magazine was originally intended for the discussion of ethnical problems and bore the title *Journal of Race Development*. In its present form it more nearly suggests the ideal here advocated than any other publication now appearing in this country.

During the last twelve months the *New York Nation* has published fortnightly an "International Relations Section" which has been often valuable, though its chief purpose seems to be to become the advocatus diaboli for the Bolshevik rule in Russia.

It is noteworthy that some of our most prominent weeklies, *The Nation*, *The Survey*, *The New Republic*, and *The Dial* (fortnightly), are representatives of various shades and grades of Socialist and even of Radical Socialist sentiment. Opposed to them are such journals as *The Review*, *The Outlook*, and *The Independent*. But all these periodicals, while differing sharply upon economic and political policies are, with the possible exception of *The Nation*, chiefly concerned with domestic questions. It is dangerous to our national life that students who seek for expert judgment upon international affairs are now, for lack of anything better, most probably referred to such publications as *The Nation*, which voice the opinions of but one party, and that a party which emphasizes destructive rather than constructive criticism and is closely allied to the forces of discontent and revolution.

There is no weekly publication in this country dealing with the field of international affairs that is at once so unbiased and so replete with information as the English weekly, *The New Europe*. But the range of *New Europe* is quite narrow. We are in dire need of a publication here as authoritative as *New Europe* and far more comprehensive.

The *New York Times* has issued since the beginning of the war a monthly encyclopedia of foreign politics and history called the *Current History Magazine*. It is poorly and cheaply printed, but contains much valuable suggestion of what such a publication of the first class ought to be.

A large number of publications maintained by organizations interested in international commerce are like the pam-

phlets of the racial committees, helpful as examples of what needs to be done. A few of them show an eager, even though limited, interest in world development and organization and are of real value as educational factors. Such are *The Americas*, published by the National City Bank of New York, the bulletin of the Pan-American Union, and especially the admirable magazine, *Asia*, the journal of the American Asiatic Association. This magazine is based upon a three-dollar subscription fee, which carries with it associate membership in the association. Full membership is secured by the payment of \$10.

The British League of Nations Unions publishes monthly *The League of Nations Journal*, a title which is soon to be changed to *The Covenant*. It was at first poorly arranged and poorly printed, but has recently been steadily improved and is full of information useful in the propaganda. It is altogether the best publication of the sort that is now obtainable. The Bulletin published by L'Association Française pour la Société des Nations has a similar purpose, but is not to be compared with the British periodical. At Bern, Switzerland, the indefatigable Dr. B. de Jong van Beek en Donk, with a Dutch-Swiss combination behind him, is publishing in three languages a weekly review called *The League of Nations*, which is filled, for the most part, with reprints of important documents.

Several of the great English reviews are remarkable for the excellence of their articles on European international affairs, but there is one highly specialized English publication which, for our purpose, occupies a class by itself. This is *The Round Table*, a quarterly review of the politics of the British Commonwealth. The reader of this magazine cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that Great Britain and her dominions do already form a league of nations in operation. *The Round Table* is written and edited so that it appeals only to the trained student of international politics. The desired *International Review* must be more popular in its character, in order to contribute more efficiently to the education of thoughtful citizens and to the development of the international mind.

At this moment we are receiving announcements that La Ligue pour le Défense de l'Humanité, in which Socialist leaders are prominent, is agitating a plan for transforming its previous publications in French and German into a daily paper, to be established at Geneva and to appear as a bulletin of international affairs.

To sum up: I suggest an effort to consolidate into one society the organizations that want to work for international justice and co-operation. I suggest for such a society a five-dollar membership fee, the greater part of which sum should be a subscription to a first-class publication maintained by the society, a comprehensive, non-partisan international review. The publication should be sustained, not alone by membership subscriptions, but also from internationally effective advertisements, a potentially rich resource as yet almost undeveloped. Such a review should be able from time to time to turn its searchlight upon all the most important departments of international relations, such as:

Foreign Correspondence

At the present time the most comprehensive, high-grade foreign correspondence upon political topics in the American press is to be found in the columns of the *Christian Science Monitor*. The lack of accurate information about other peoples is disgraceful to American journalism. The various agencies of the Association for International Conciliation might be revived and made helpful in correcting this defect. Furthermore, the foreign offices of all governments would be glad to use the columns of such an international review as the vehicle for official statements for which publicity of this sort would be unusually advantageous.

Mission Forces

There is at present, outside the diplomatic and consular service of the various nations, no international agency of information comparable to that derived from the army of missionaries who report to the numerous mission boards in different countries. All these boards have their own publications, but doubtless the chief exponent of all missionary

forces is the *International Review of Missions*. It arose out of the international organizations founded by John R. Mott. There are many wires in the mission field that ought to lead straight into the office of a great international review. Within limits, there are missionaries scattered here and there about the world who are far and away more truly our diplomatic representatives and our trained observers than any of the men commissioned by our State Department. I have in mind such men as Dr. S. Wells Williams in the last century and Dr. Arthur Judson Brown today. Asiatic politics are at bottom essentially religious in character. An international review might wisely gather into its bosom such a publication as the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* used to be, or as the *Moslem World*, edited by Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, is today. This department of international activity immediately suggests the importance of

Co-operation with Church Organizations

In this and other countries there are such agencies as the Federal Council of Churches (Dr. C. S. Macfarland), World Alliance for International Friendship (Dr. Henry Atkinson), Church Peace Union (Dr. Henry Atkinson), Inter-Church World Movement (Dr. John R. Mott and Mr. S. Earl Taylor), and Zionists (Dr. S. S. Wise). These forces are for various reasons interested in the promotion of world unity and the supremacy of international law.

International Educational Exchanges

There is already a forward movement for international co-operation in education, like that in connection with labor questions and conditions. The latest step is the formation of an Institute of International Education, of which Dr. Stephen P. Duggan is director, to act as a clearing-house for information and as the agent of the American University Union in Europe. This movement especially needs publicity, and its influence should reach student groups everywhere (cosmopolitan clubs, seminars in history and politics, university debating clubs, the School Peace League, of which Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews is secretary).

International Associations, Public and Private

Doubtless the central office at Brussels will ere long resume its activities, though perhaps under a new régime it may be reopened in Geneva or Bern. The International Chamber of Commerce was itself a world parliament. If people only realized the character and scope of the fifty public and the four hundred and fifty private international associations, which have been knit together during the last half century, there would be less foolish talk and incredulity about the ways and means of keeping the family of nations in an alliance for law and order. Many of the leaders in this work before the war are still available, as Senator Henri La Fontaine, M. Paul Otlet, Mr. E. A. Filene, Senator d'Estournelles de Constant (Association for International Conciliation), and Dr. Christian L. Lange (Interparliamentary Union).

International Industrial and Commercial Relations

In this connection one needs only to point out the coming International Labor Conference and the promise of international organization for the study and direction of industrial questions in all nations under the Treaty of Versailles. This may open a new chapter in world history. It is noteworthy that the *American Federationist*, the organ of the American Federation of Labor, reads in these days like an international journal, so frequent has become the interchange across the ocean. A voice is wanted here which is not controlled by any trade group, but which organized labor as well as the organized employers will respect.

Racial Questions

At present there is but little first-hand knowledge in the United States about the sore spots in Europe, Asia, and Africa. We have not even been competent to heal our own running sores. All the greater is the need for a campaign of education, for here are the chief sources of wars and the need for continuous and authoritative publication. In

Europe experts are not lacking. The French Republic has a staff of savants who know northern Africa to the uttermost tribe. The Germans have classified the races of eastern Europe and western Asia with characteristic completeness. In Prague, President T. G. Masaryk is an authority, and in England there are many, as Messrs. R. W. Seton-Watson, Wickham Steed, H. N. Brailsford, A. J. Toynbee, Sir Harry H. Johnston, and Miss M. E. Durham.

Pan-American Relations

In touch with the Inter-American Division of the American Association for International Conciliation; also with the magazine *Centro America*, official organ of the International Central American Bureau at Guatemala, and with such papers as *La Prensa*, of Buenos Aires, and *El Mercurio*, of Santiago, Chile.

Original Documents

The supplements published in connection with the *American Journal of International Law*, and the pages of the *New York Times Current History Magazine*, are now our chief reliance outside of the official publications of the State Department and congressional publications.

Far Eastern Questions

The Chinese problem is the seed plot for more great wars. Now we get information chiefly from bureaus and committees, each organized with some axe to grind—a Japanese bureau, a Korean committee, a Chinese bureau, etc. Such work should be handled with different motives. Compare the Far Eastern Bureau, of which Prof. J. W. Jenks is director and Mr. Charles Hodges assistant director.

Now that the world has become one village, as it never was before, we are all forced to be fellow-citizens, whether we like it or not. Democracy is to become the universal method of rule. We must not only educate our masters; we must also learn all that is to be known about them. The scholar must do this work quickly and well or the unscrupulous and visionary agitator will get ahead of him. A policy of waiting, whether "watchful" or not, is dangerous. The flames of war are still raging, from the valley of the Vistula to the Pacific, and at any moment the whole world may be devastated anew. Now is the accepted time for the education of the American people—and of all peoples—in international obligations, privileges, and aspirations and in the problems of a governed world.

So is the world made safe for democracy and so, God willing, may democracy be made safe for the world.

As editors of this magazine and officers of the American Peace Society, we are glad to print this suggestive contribution from Dr. Levermore. For the benefit of some of our more recent subscribers, we may say again that the American Peace Society exists for the purpose of promoting the very ends which this writer would attain. The work of the American Peace Society has always been international in its scope, for the reason that the society has always viewed the problem of international peace as an international problem. It was because of this belief that the first international peace congress was initiated in the office of the American Peace Society, Boston, in July, 1841. Elihu Burritt, one time secretary of the American Peace Society and editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, founded the "League of Universal Brotherhood," in 1846, a League which consisted of many thousands of members both in America and Europe. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has from the outset had a wide circulation not only in Europe but in other nations around the globe. This work of educating the peoples away from the methods of war to the practices of reason and justice will be extended just as rapidly as the necessary resources of men and mind and money permit.—THE EDITORS.